Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03117 01 OF 03 081403Z

46

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 IO-14 OIC-04 OMB-01

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-07 SS-20

DRC-01 /161 W

----- 001395

R 081211Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2371

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 3117

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF APRIL 3, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: APRIL 3 AD HOC GROUP CHAIRED BY BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) APPROVED AN ANALYSIS
OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS (VIENNA 2973);
THE TEXT OF A PLENARY STATEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING (VIENNA 3018); AND A CABLE TO NATO REQUESTING BREAKDOWNS
ON ORIGINALLY AGREED NATO AND WP FORCE FIGURES (VIENNA 2977).
BRIEF DISCUSSION OF PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR INFORMAL SESSION ON APRIL 8 REVEALED THAT A CONSENSUS HAD DEVELOPED TO HOLD SUCH A SESSION, BUT THAT TALKING POINTS WOULD REQUIRE FURTHER WORK.

2. IN DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE EVOLUTION IN EASTERN SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03117 01 OF 03 081403Z

POSITION ON COMPOSITION OF FIRST PHASE, AHG REPS

APPEARED IN AGREEMENT THAT EASTERN HINTS SO FAR SUGGESTED THEIR PRICE FOR A FIRST PHASE LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES (ASSUMING THEY WOULD AGREE AT ALL) WOULD INCLUDE FREEZES ON ALL ELEMENTS OF NON-US NATO FORCES IN THE AREA, AND ON US NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. REPS FELT EAST CONCEIVED OF THESE TWO FREEZES AS DISTINCT FROM ONE ANOTHER.

- 3. UK REVEALED CONTINUED SENSITIVITY TO ANY COMMITMENT BY NON-US FORCES TO SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS. UK POINT WAS THAT NO FINAL COMMITMENT COULD BE MADE UNTIL IT WAS CLEAR SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD REACH A "SATISFACTORY" OUTCOME. END SUMMARY.
- 4. AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC NON JANUARY-APRIL SEGMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS. AD HOC GROUP ON APRIL 3 CONCLUDED CONSIDERATION OF A STATUS REPORT TO NAC. APRIL 3 DISCUSSIONS RELATED TO PART I OF THIS REPORT WHICH DESCRIBES DEVELOPMENTS SINCE JANUARY AND CURRENT STATUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS (TEXT IN SEPTEL). OTHER PORTIONS BEING CONSIDERED SEPARATELY.

 MOST DISCUSSION CENTERED ON CORRECTING AND REFINING DRAFT BUT SEVERAL POINTS OF INTEREST EMERGED.
- 5. EASTERN VIEW OF DISPARITIES: ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) REFERRED TO PORTION OF DRAFT TEXT WHICH STATED THAT "UP TO NOW, THE EAST HAS REJECTED BOTH ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS AND THE CONEPT OF DISPARITIES WHICH JUSTIFIES THEM." CAGIATI SAID THAT EAST WAS WILLING TO ADMIT THE EXISTENCE OF DISPARITIES AND AHG REPORT SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THIS. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) AND UK DEP REP (GOODALL) EXPRESSED REERVATIONS. NETHERLANDS REP THOUGHT AHG RISKED CONFUSION NAC WITH ANY MENTION THAT EAST ACKNOWLEDGED DISPARITIES MIGHT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THIS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT EMERGED AS THE RESULT OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, WHEN IN FACT EAST HAS ON MANY OCCASIONS ACKNOWLEDGED THE EXITENCE OF DISPARITIES FAVORING THE WEST IN PARTICULAR FORCE ELEMENTS. HOWEVER, EAST DOES NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE IMPLICATIONS THAT WEST DRAWS FROM THESE DISPARITIES OR THAT THERE IS OVERALL DISPARITY. SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 03117 01 OF 03 081403Z

6. ITALIAN REP AGREED WITH LAST POINT, BUT THOUGHT PRESENT PHRASEOLOGY MISLEADING BECUASE IT IMPLIED EAST HAD REFUSED TO ADMIT EXISTENCE OF DISPARITIES AT ALL, WHEN IN FACT THEY HAD EVEN ADMITTED EXISTENCE OF DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCE LEVELS, WHICH WAS A CENTRAL POINT IN THE ESTERN ARGUMENT.

7. US REP SAID HE AGREED WITH UK DEP REP THAT ADDING THE POINT COULD CREATE CONFUSION. THE EAST HAD NOT DENIED THAT IN SOME CATEGORIES ITS FORCES WERE MORE NUMBEROUS THAT THOSE OF THE EST. HOWEVER, THEY CONTINUED TO ARGUE THAT A BALANCE EXISTED OVERALL. US REP AGREED WITH NETHERLANDS REP THAT INCLUDING A SENTENCE THAT THE EAST HAD ACKNOWLEDGED DISPARITIES COULD CONVEY A FALSE SENSE OF THE DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE EASTERN POSITION. IT WAS AGREED NOT TO ALTER THE ORIGINAL WORDING.

8. IN A RELATED POINT, THE ITALIAN REP SAID SOVIET ARGUEMENTS THAT OVERALL PARITY ALREADY EXISTS ARE BOLSTERED BY STATEMENTS OF WESTERN DEFENSE MINISTERS THAT WESTERN DEFENSE WAS ADEQUATE AND THAT THERE WAS A BALANCE WITH THE EAST. IT WAS AGREED THAT MENTION OF THIS FACT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE REPORT IN ORDER TO INDICATE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS CAUSED BY STATEMENTS OF THIS KIND.

9. NETHERLANDS REP, INDICATING THAT WESTERN SPOKESMEN WERE NOT THE ONLY ONES TO MAKE SUCH UNUSEFUL STATEMENTS, DREW ATTENTION TO A RECENT ARTICLE IN RUDE PRAVO, WHICH STATED THAT THE WARSAW PACT WAS IDEOLOGICIALLY AND MILITARILY STRONGER.

10. "INCREASING" FLANK SECURITY: ITALIAN REP REFERRED TO A PARAGRAPH IN THE DRAFT REPORT DEALING WITH THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS AND RECOMMENDED INCLUSION OF A PHRASE WHICH WOULD RESULT IN THE AHG TELLING THE NAC THAT THE ALLIES HAD ARGUED IN PLENARY THAT ANY AGREEMENT MUST SAFEUGARD " AND POSSIBLY INCREASE" THE SECURITY OF THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. GREEK REP SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 03117 01 OF 03 081403Z

(DOUNTAS) AGREED THIS WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT IDEA.
US DEP REP OPPOSED THIS FORMULA BECUASE IT WOULD APPEAR
TO COMMIT ALLIES TO REQUIRE SPECIAL PROVISIONS IN AN
AGREEMENT TO FAVOR FLANKS. NO DECISION ALONG THESE
LINES HAD BEEN MADE BY NATO. AS HE UNDERSTOOD
IT, ALLIES HAD AGREED THAT THE AGREEMENT MUST NOT
DIMINISH FLANK SECURITY. THIS ARGUEMENT WAS GENERALLY

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03117 02 OF 03 081424Z

46

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 IO-14 OIC-04 OMB-01

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-07 SS-20

DRC-01 /161 W

USCINCEUR

----- 001617

R 081211Z APR 74
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2372
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE

SECRET SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 3117

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

ACCEPTED BY REST OF AHG, AND POINT WAS DROPPED.

11. WITHDRAWALS OF FOREIGN TROOPS VS. REDUCTIONS
BY COUNTRIES INSIDE THE NGA; THE ITALIAN REP REFERRED
TO THE SECTION DESCRIBING ALLIED OBJECTIONS TO THE
EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL AND SUGGESTED
THIS WAS A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT THE
QUALITIATIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WITHDRAWING AND REDUCING
FORCES. THIS WAS A MAJOR WESTERN JUSTRIFICATION FOR
RESTRICTING PHASE I TO US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS, BUT WAS
NOT MENTIONED IN THE REPORT AT ALL. FRG REP (BEHRENDS)
SAID THAT THE DIFFICULTY WITH THIS ARGUMENT WAS THAT
IT IVITED AN EASTERN QUERY ABOUT REDUCTIONS ON THE
PART OF THE UK AND CANADA AND PLACED THESE COUNTRIES
IN AN AWKWARD SITUATION. THE UK DEP REP THANKED THE
FRG REP FOR MAKING THIS POINT. HE WOULD PREFER THAT THIS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03117 02 OF 03 081424Z

ARGUMENT NOT BE USED BUT COULD ACCEPT IT PROVIDED IT WERE MADE A SUBSIDIARY RATHER THAN THE PRIMARY JUSTI-

FICATION FOR ALLIED DEMANDS FOR ADDITIONAL ASSURANCES BEFORE AGREEING TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO REDUCTIONS.

12. ITALIAN REP DID NOT WISH TO PLACE EXCESSIVE STRESS ON THIS ARGUMENT BUT HE POINTED OUT THAT THIS WAS A REPORT TO THE NAC ABOUT PAST ACTIVITIES AND SINCE THE ARGUEMENT HAD BEEN USED WITH THE EAST, IT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE REPORT. THE NETHERLANDS REP AGREED THAT THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN WITHDRAWING AND REDUCING FORCES WAS AN IMPORTANT ONE, ESPECIALLY FOR THE COUNTRIES LOCATED INSIDE THE REDUCTIONS AREA. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ARGUMENT BE QUALIFIED TO REFER ONLY TO THESE COUNTRIES. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE ARGUEMENT WOULD BE INCLUDED WITH THESE QUALIFICATIONS.

13. FREEZE BETWEEN PHASES: THE DRAFT REPORT SUGGESTED THAT ONE THEORETICAL FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE EASTERN POSITION WOULD BE TO AGREE TO A PHSE I LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET FORCES IN RETURN FOR A FREEZE ON MANPOWER AND ARMAMENTS OF THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. A DIS-CUSSION ENSURED AS TO JUST WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD IN MIND IN THEIR VARIOUS REFERENCES AND HINTS ABOUT THE NEED TO LIMIT INCREASES OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS BETWEEN PHASE I AND PHASE II. THE NETHERLANDS REP DOUBTED THAT A FREEZE ON MANPOWER AND ARMAMENTS OF THE NON-US WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT BAIT TO PERSUADE THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE TO A PHASE I DEVOTED ONLY TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION IT WAS AGREED THAT THE SOVIETS SEEMED TO HAVE IN MIND TWO DISTINCT IF OVERLAPPING FREEZES, ONE ON ALL OF THE FORCES AND ARMAMENTS OF NON-US AND SOVIET DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND THE OTHER ON US AND SOVIET NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. THE FRG REP RECALLED THAT IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH THE POLISH REP (STRULAK) THE LATTER HAD CONCEIVED OF THESE FREEZES AS TWO SEPARATE UNDERTAKINS. LANGUAGE TO CLARIFY THE POSSIBLE EASTERN REQUIREMENT OF TWO SEPARATE FREEZES WAS AGREED TO. SEVERAL REPS, INCLUDING CANADIAN (GRANDE) AND GREEK (DOUNTAS), THOUGHT THAT WHILE THIS EFFORT TO EXTRAPOLATE FROM THE EASTERN POSITION WAS SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 03117 02 OF 03 081424Z

USEFUL, ITS SPECULATIVE QUALITY SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED IN THE REPORT.

14. PLENARY STATEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING: THE AHG NEXT TOOK UP A DRAFT OF A PLENARY STATEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING TO BE DELIVERED BY THE FRG REP ON APRIL 4, 1974.

A LARGE NUMBER OF EDITORIAL CHANGES WERE MADE, BUT THE ONLY DEVELOPMENT OF INTEREST WAS A UK OBJECTION TO A SENTENCE DESCRIBING THE WESTERN VIEW OF HOW IT MIGHT

"MEET THE EASTERN INTERESTS IN ASSURING THAT REDUCTIONS OF OTHER ALLIED GROUND FORCES WOULD TAKE PLACE." THE UK ARGUMENT WAS THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MAKE ANY FINAL COMMITMENT TO REDUCE IN PHASE II UNTIL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED IN PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES ABOUT REDUCTIONS. THE UK PROPOSED A CHANGE SO AS TO STATE THAT OTHER ALLIED REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE FOLLOWING "SATISFACTORY" NEGOTIATIONS IN PHASE II, THUS FURTHER DIMINISHING THE ALREADY LIMITED WESTERN REFERENCES TO PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II. THE US REP INDICATED THAT THE COMMITMENT WAS ALREADY HEAVILY QUALIFIED AND THE INTRODUCTION OF FURTHER QUALIFICATIONS WOULD BE A STEP BACKWARDS. THE FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT, IN VIEW OF THE DISAGREEMENT WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP, THE LANGUAGE TO WHICH THE UK OBJECTED SHOULD SIMPLY BE DELETED AND NO EFFORT MADE TO DEVELOP A NEW FORMULATION. GROUP AGREED.

15. REQUEST FOR DATA FROM NAC: THE AHG NEXT REVIEWED A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO THE NAC ON DATA, PREPARED BY TE MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE. (THIS MESSAGE WAS DRAFTED AS AN ELABORATION ON A QUESTION THAT WILL BE PROPOSED TO THE NAC WITH THE AHG REPORT OF 5 APRIL 1974.)

16. AS INITIALLY DRAFTED THIS MESSAGE ASKED FOR THE AGREED COUNTRY BY COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF THE CURRENT NATO GROUND FORCES MANPOWER OF 777,000 AND CURRENTWARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES MANPOWER OF 925,000. NETHERLANDS REP NOTED THAT THE NATO INFORMATION HAD ALREADY BEEN RECEIVED IN A NATO MESSAGE OF 27 FEBRUARY. SACEUR REP COMMENTED THAT THIS PROBABLY THE EXTENT OF THE INFORMATION ON NATO THAT WILL BE PROVIDED RELATIVE TO THE CURRENT NUMBER OF 777,000 AND FURTHER REMARKED THAT ONLY SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 03117 02 OF 03 081424Z

THE FIGURES, 777,000 FOR NATO, 925,000 FOR WARSAW PACT AND 193,000 FOR US AND 460,000 FOR SOVIET FORCES HAD

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03117 03 OF 03 081439Z

46

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 IO-14 OIC-04 OMB-01

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-07 SS-20

DRC-01 /161 W

----- 001873

R 081211Z APR 74
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2373
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 VIENNA 3117

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

BEEN APPROVED FOR THE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EASTERN RPRSENTATIVES. THE FRG REP ADDED THAT, WHILE THERE HAD BEEN AGREEMENT WITHIN NATO ON THE TOTAL GROUND MANPOWER NUMBER OF 777,000, THERE HAD NOT BEEN NATIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY TOTALS, SPECIFICALLY FRG HAD NOT AGREED TO THEIR PORTION OF THE 777,000.

17. THE QUESTION WAS RAISED AS TO WHETHER COUNTRY DETAILS WERE AVAILABLE FOR THE PACT GROUND FORCES MANPOWER REF 925,000. THE SACEUR REP REPLIED THAT THESE WERE AVAILABLE BUT NOT RELEASABLE TO THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES.

18. FURTHER, SACEUR REP NOTED THAT THE NUMBERS PROVIDED TO THE AHG WERE APPROVED BY THE SPC FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THERE IS NO SUCH CATEGORY AS SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03117 03 OF 03 081439Z

"NATO AGREED" NUMBERS SINCE THE NUMBER CAME FROM THE NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES AND NATO PERFORMED NO EVALUATION OF THESE NUMBERS. US REP REMARKED THAT THE AHG MUST CONVEY TO NATO THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE THE AHG NUMBERS IN SOME AGREED FORM THAT CAN BE USED, WHATEVER MECHANISM IS REQUIRED.

19. THE UK DEP REP RECOMMENDED THAT THE SPECIFIC

STATEMENT BE INCLUDED THAT THESE NUMBERS ARE BEING REQUESTED FROM NATO AND ARE FOR THE PRUPOSE OF USE WITH THE OTHER SIDE IN THE APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS WAS APPROVED BY THE AHG.

- 20. FRG REP SUGGESTED APPENDING THE TALKING POINTS TO BE USED IN THE 8 APRIL INFORMAL MEETING CONCERNING HE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. THE US REP SUGGESTED THAT THIS WOULD SET A BAD PRECEDENT IN THAT IT WOULD BE REQUESTING PRIOR NAC CLEARANCE FOR TALKING PONTS PER THE INFORMAL MEETINGS AND IN ADDITION WE WOULD PROBABLY NOT GET A RESPONSE IN SUFFICIENT TIME. THE AHG AGREED.
- 21. TALKING POINTS FOR APRIL 8 INFORMAL SESSION. US CIRCULATED DRAFT TALKING POINTS. DISCUSSION PROCEEDED ON THE BASIS OF AN APPARENT CONSENSUS THAT SUCH A SESSION SHOULD BE HELD, AND THAT THE DRAFT TALKING POINTS WERE ON THE RIGHT TRACK IN ELABORATING ON THE CONCEPT THAT AN ARMY UNIFORM MEANT GROUND FORCE" AND AN AIR FORCE UNIFORM "AIR FORCE" REGARDLESS OF ASSIGNED MISSION. HOWEVER, THERE WERE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT DETAILS, AND THE US REP PROMISED TO PROVIDE A REVISED DRAFT FOR THE NEXT AHG MEETING.
- 22. NEXT MEETING WILL BE ON APRIL 4.HUMES

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: DATA, ARMED FORCES, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, FORCE & TROOP LEVELS, MEETING PROCEEDINGS

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE

Draft Date: 08 APR 1974 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note:

Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974VIENNA03117
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00

Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Film Number: D740079-0736 From: VIENNA

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740457/aaaabzyu.tel

Line Count: 410

Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM Office: ACTION ACDA

Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 8

Previous Channel Indicators: Previous Classification: SECRET Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: n/a

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED

Review Authority: golinofr Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 19 MAR 2002 **Review Event:** Review Exemptions: n/a

Review History: RELEASED <19 MAR 2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <06 MAY 2002 by golinofr>

Review Markings:

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier: Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF APRIL 3, 1974

TAGS: PARM, NATO, WTO, MBFR To: STATE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005